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THE COMMERCE OF FRANCE IN THE NINTH CENTURY

A transition age often has a peculiar charm for the student of history, for side by side with the phenomena of social decay the phenomena of social reorganization and of progress are usually to be found, slowly constructing new institutions and forming a new social texture. The ninth century saw the dissolution of the Carolingian empire and the formation of a new Europe. The large lines of this history have been clearly established, but one chapter in the transition—the history of commerce in France during the ninth century—has not yet been written. Every writer upon the subject seems tacitly to have assumed the almost total destruction of commerce and cessation of trade for the hundred and sixty years between 840 and 1000.¹ Yet

¹ For example, Levasseur, the latest historian of the commerce of France, leaps with a stroke of the pen from the death of Charlemagne to the year 1000 and begins again: “à la date fatale et si longtemps redoutée de l’an mille,” etc.—the old exploded legend of the alleged terrors of the millennial year (*Histoire du commerce de France*, 1911, I, 51); Freville (*Mémoire sur le commerce maritime de Rouen*, 2 vols., 1857, I, 48) cites but three scattered data for the history of commerce from the accession of Charles the Bald (840) to the beginning of the rule of Richard II of Normandy (1002); Kleinclausz (in Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, tome 2, pte. I, p. 382) assumes the total interruption of trade in France in the last half of the ninth century. Neither Michel (*Histoire du commerce de Bourdeaux*, 2 vols., 1857) nor Malvezin, the author of a

at least one provision of the momentous treaty of Verdun was dictated by economic considerations.¹

The deeper we penetrate into the details of the history of this period the more we must qualify the ancient and sweeping judgment of the Benedictine scholars of the eighteenth century that "as to culture, politics, and commerce there are few monuments which can instruct us."² Meager as the sources are and hard as the age was, the ninth century, nevertheless, retained more remnants of civilization than has been usually supposed.

It is all the more singular that this erroneous idea of the complete interruption of commerce between the death of Charlemagne and the accession of Hugh Capet should still prevail, since the exaggeration in the old monkish chronicles of the appallingly destructive nature of the Northmen invasions was long ago pointed out by Mabille.³ But he was writing the odyssey of the relics of St. Martin and did not dwell upon the idea, which, though novel then, today is a commonplace. Economic history in recent years has shown that the Norse invasions were the most powerful stimulus to mediaeval trade before the crusades.

"The northern vikings were not only wild sea-rovers, they were also enterprising merchants who sought to get riches in every way. . . . Although the sources for the history of this time are very scant, we still see in them what an intense commercial activity prevailed in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, especially in the north." So wrote Professor Bugge in a notable article in

two-volume work with the same title, published in 1892, has a line on the commerce of the south of France between 814 and 1000; Fagniez (*Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie et du commerce*, 2 vols., 1898) has three interesting pages upon industry in the ninth century (I, xxx-xxxii), but nothing on commerce. Pigeonneau (*Histoire du commerce de la France*, 2 vols., 1884) alludes to only one specific fact of commerce during this neglected period (I, 104).

¹ "Hludovico . . . orientalia [*sc. regna cesserunt*] scilicet omnis Germania usque Rheni fluenta et nonnullae civitates cum adjacentibus pagis trans Rhenum *propter vini copiam*" (Regino 842). As late as 836 Frisian merchants were buyers of wine in Alsace and in the valley of the Neckar (Stälin, *Württemberg. Geschichte*, I, 402).

² Devic et Vaisette, *Histoire du Languedoc*, III, 186.

³ Mabille, "Les Invasions normands dans la Loire et les pègrinations du corps de St. Martin," *Bib. de l'école des chartes*, VIe ser., tome 5, p. 149.

1906.¹ But this study was focused upon the Baltic lands, England, and Russia,² and did not deal with the Northmen in France. Vogel, in his excellent work published in the same year, recognizes the great importance of the Northmen invasions for trade, and has a few scattered paragraphs upon the subject.³ But it still remains to follow the clue to this important phase of Northmen history, given long ago by Dudo when he puts in Rolf's mouth the significant words: *vendendi atque sequestram pacem petimus*.⁴

The Danes were old commercial acquaintances of the Saxons and Frisians, trading furs and wax for German iron, Friesland cloth, and wine from the Rhinelands.⁵ The Life of Anskar, as I have elsewhere pointed out,⁶ is richer in information about northern commerce in the ninth century than even competent scholars like Cunningham and Vogel have perceived.⁷

¹ "Die nordeuropäischen Verkehrswege im früheren Mittelalter, und die Bedeutung der Wikinger für die Entwicklung des europäischen Handels und der europäischen Schifffahrt," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IV, Heft 2, pp. 227-73. Borély (*Histoire de la ville de Havre*, 1881, I, 60) has vividly described this Norse blend of piracy and commerce: "Ils sont campés à l'embouchure de la Seine; pendant plus d'un siècle ils y sont à demeure. Ils ont fermé l'ouverture des criques avec des bateaux; au moyen de palissades, du côté de la campagne, ils ont établi une sorte de parc où ils gardent leurs troupeaux de prisonniers; des baraques, de grossières constructions, élevées sur les digues et le long des barres, reçoivent le dépôt de leurs rapines. . . . Ils font le commerce, en effet, et ils trafiquent de tout ce qu'ils ont enlevé, des dépouilles des villes, de celles des églises et des monastères, des hommes et femmes, des métaux précieux, de tout ce qu'ils entassent dans leurs magasins de brigandage." Cf. Beazeley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II, chap. 2; Doren, *Kaufmannsgilden des Mittelalters*, p. 18.

² "'Waräger' [Varyág] bekanntlich der Name der Normannen in Russland bedeutet noch heute im Russischen 'Wanderhändler.'"—Vogel, *Die Normannen und das frankische Reich*, 1906, p. 234, note.

³ Pp. 44-45, 62-63, 66-67, 233-34, 417-18.

⁴ *Historia Normannorum*, Book II, chap. 7. Cf. *William of Jumièges*, Book IV, chap. 16. The capitularies of Charles the Bald frequently prohibit traffic with the Northmen; cf. Bouquet, VII, 608; Frodoard, *Hist. Eccles. Rem.*, IV, chap. 5; *Annals of St. Bertin*, 869.

⁵ Vogel, p. 45; Bugge, *Vesterlandenes Inflydelse*, pp. 210-13.

⁶ *American Historical Review*, XVIII, 499.

⁷ Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, I, 52, note, 5th ed., cites chaps. 16, 19, 22, 28, 29, 41; Vogel, p. 45, only chap. 20, 24, 27.

The commercial prosperity of the empire of Charlemagne did not at once disappear when he died. The admirable coastguard system which he created only gradually declined.¹ As late as 838 we find Louis the Pious renewing the channel fleets.² The raids of the Northmen were not formidable to France before 841, nor did the Saracen corsairs become a grave danger till the reign of Charles the Bald.³

Frisia, whose wool-growing is known from high antiquity, was famous for its woollen cloth in Charlemagne's time.⁴ The Frisian cloth trade continued during the reign of Louis the Pious (814-401). It even endured throughout the period of the Norse inroads.⁵ Dorestad (Wijk-bej-Duurstede) near Utrecht, perhaps the Bata-vodurum of the Romans at the point where the Kromme Rhyn or "Crooked Rhine" diverges from the Lek, was the chief emporium of the Low Countries in the ninth century,⁶ the tolls of which are

¹ For this system see Roncière, "La Civilisation maritime au IX^e siècle," *Le Moyen Age*, 1897, p. 3; Richter, *Annalen des deutschen frankischen Reichs-Geschichte*, I, 654; Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, IV, 616-17.

² Dümmler, *Gesch. d. ösfrank. Reichs*, 2d ed., I, 196. We find Louis legislating for the maintenance of the fleet in 815, 820, 821, 835, 837, 838 (Waitz, IV, 617, note).

³ Marseilles was plundered in 848 (Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*, p. 248).

⁴ See Willibald, *Vita S. Bonifacii*, chap. 4, sec. ii, Liudger; *Vita Greg. abbat. Traj.*, in *M.G.H. SS.*, X, 71; Alcuin, *Carmina IV. ad amicos poetarum*, V, ii, in *M.G.H. PP.* 221; *Monk of St. Gall*, Book 2, chap. 34. All the substantial literature on the subject of early Frisian cloth-making is reviewed by Pirenne, "Draps de Fris ou draps de Flandre?" *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgesch.*, VII, 308-15.

⁵ Doren thinks it not unlikely that the local *Schutzgilden* in Flanders and northeast France, in restraint of which Louis the Pious legislated in 821 ("De conjurationibus servorum," Baluze, I, 775) were partially effective in preserving life and property at this time (*Kaufmannsgilden des Mittelalters*, pp. 13-14).

⁶ Ermoldus, *In laudem Pippini elegia*, IA, vss. 119-20; *In honorem Hludovici libri IV*, Book 4, vss. 611-14, "multimodasque dapes"; Rinbert, *Vita Anskari*, chaps. 7, 20, 24; Wandebert of Prüm, *Miracula S. Goaris*, chaps. 27-28 in *M.G.H. SS.*, II, 747; *Annals of Xanten*, p. 834, "nominatissimum vicum"; cf. Parisot, *Le Royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*, p. 57; Vogel, pp. 66-67; Soetbeer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Geld- und Münzwesens in Deutschland*, IV, 301.

The doctoral dissertation of Hans Wilkens, *Zur Geschichte des niederländischen Handels im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1908), Erster Theil, is a marvelously complete survey of the commerce of the Low Countries from the eighth to the eleventh century. The whole work is printed in *Hänsische Geschichtsblätter*, Band XIV und XV (1908-9).

specially mentioned.¹ Maestricht on the lower Meuse and the abbeys of St. Wandrille in T rouanne and St. Riquier near Abbeville were also important places of cloth manufacture.² Even in the depth of the ninth century, though Dorestad was five times visited by the Northmen and twice burned,³ the Frisian cloth trade yet survived.⁴ A colony of Frisian merchants is found in Worms in 829,⁵ and another in Mainz in 886,⁶ where the trade routes of the Danube and from Lombard Italy converged, and which was the commercial center of the Rhine lands in the Carolingian and Saxon periods.⁷

Farther down the channel coast was the port of Quantovic,⁸ the Calais of the time.⁹ Between these two places, of less importance but still called an *emporium*,¹⁰ lay Witlan, on the estuary of the Meuse, a tiny Antwerp.

¹ See Vogel, p. 67, note.

² Einhard, *Translatio S. Marcellini*, IV, chap. 13, in *M.G.H. SS.*, XV, 261; Constitutions of Ansegius, abbot of St. Wandrille, who died in 833, in *M.G.H. SS.*, II, 299; Hariulf, *Chronique de St. Riquier*, ed. Ferdinand Lot, p. 308. The text probably dates from 831.

³ Parisot, pp. 57, 61.

⁴ *Annals of St. Bertin*, 863; *Annals of Xanten*, 863; Parisot, p. 327; D  mmler, II, 48, note.

⁵ Schulte, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels und Verkehrs*, I, 78, n. 7.

⁶ *Annals of Fulda*, 886, "Optima pars Mogontiae civitatis, ubi Frisones habitabant"; cf. Schulte, I, 78, note; Vogel, p. 66, n. 1. These merchants are probably alluded to by Ermoldus under the term "marini" (Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 313). There is a street in Mainz still called Friesenstrasse; other cities in Northwest Germany also have streets of this name (Doren, p. 19, n. 3).

⁷ Cologne did not outstrip Mainz in commercial importance until the eleventh century (Doren, *op. cit.*, p. 79). Under the Saxon emperors Mainz is "urbs nobilis et opulenta" (*Vita Brunonis*, chap. 16); the "regia civitas" (*Contin. Regino*, in *M.G.H. SS.*, I, 622).

⁸ Two kilometers northwest of  tapes.

⁹ "Her was michel wahlsl ht, on Lundenne, on Cwantawic, on Hrofesceastre" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 839). For the port dues see the references in Vogel, p. 89, n. 3. There was a royal mint there under Charles the Bald (*Edict. Pist.*, 864, sec. 12).

¹⁰ *Annals of St. Bertin*, 836; *Annals of Fulda*, 836; *Annals of Xanten*, 836.

Brittany's peninsular shape early exposed it to the Northmen,¹ who must have occasionally interrupted the trade relations of the lower Loire region with Brittany, Gascony, and Ireland, which were considerable from before the days of Charlamagne.² Yet the salt trade of the Poitevin coast, the Biscayan fisheries, and even the Breton-Irish trade continued through the ninth century.³ Evidently also the trade of Brittany by sea with the south coast of France must have survived at least until the end of the ninth century. The Monk of St. Gall would not have said that the Norse ships which invaded the harbor of Narbonne were mistaken for Breton vessels without reason.⁴ But it is impossible to cite many details of Brittany's commerce in late Carolingian times. The most specific reference is a charter of 848 concerning the rights of the Lord of Bains over merchants and merchant shipping at the mouth of the Oust, in the time of Duke Nominœ. The monks of Ballon and Busal claimed a part of the *tonlieux* levied upon merchants and shipping in the Oust in virtue of an early grant which could not be produced. The duke, failing the evidence of written record, summoned the oldest inhabitants of the four parishes involved, who declared that from time out of mind the rights of navigation had belonged to the Seigneur of Bains and not to the abbots of Ballon and Basal.⁵ May not a similar commercial activity be assumed for other Breton ports and *écluses*, of which there were many?⁶

¹ The monastery of Noirmoutier on an island near the mouth of the Loire River suffered as early as 819, so that in summer the monks removed to the mainland. In 836 the body of St. Philibert was removed inland to Deas, which became a new and somewhat important place of trade (La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, II, 301, 305, note).

² See *Vita S. Philiberti*, chap. 27, for a "navem cum oleo . . . quae a Burdegalensi urbe veniens . . . 40 modios ipsius deferebat liquoris." It must have been olive oil, for it was eaten with bread (chap. 26). In chap. 28 there is mention of "Brittones nauticae"; in chap. 29 of "naves Brittonicae morarentur in litore" and of "Scottorum [i.e., Irish] navis diversis mercimoniis plenus ad litus affuit, quae calciamenta ac vestimenta fratribus larga copia ministravit." Again in the *Miracula S. Philiberti*, chap. 81, we find "Brittaniae naves . . . negociandi gratia devenisse . . . negotio quippe expleto cupiunt reverti" (*Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de S. Philibert*, ed. Poupardin, pp. 16-17, 54).

³ La Borderie, II, 315-17; Vogel, pp. 62-63.

⁴ Bouquet, V, 130.

⁵ *Cartulaire de Redon*, No. cvi and Prolég., p. ccxiv.

⁶ For a list see *ibid.*, Prolég., p. ccxiv.

A greater misfortune to the commerce of Nantes and the lower Loire country than occasional forays of the Northmen was the bitter feud between the Franks and the native Bretons for domination there.¹ Count Lambert and the Breton duke Erispœ each sought support from the Northmen.² The strife naturally drew the church into the vortex, the duke sustaining one candidate to the bishopric of Nantes, the king another. In the end the latter's protégé was given the archbishopric of Tours instead (885 or 886). The victorious bishop Actard was given half of the port dues (*tonlieux*) of Nantes,³ but later was driven out by Salomon, the successor of Erispœ. The exile avenged himself by endeavoring to ruin the commercial reputation of Nantes, falsely representing that the city had been utterly destroyed by the Northmen in 853 and picturing it, in 868, as still in utter desolation,⁴ whereas their occupation in 853 was a mere episode and Nantes by 868 had resumed its former commercial prosperity.⁵ The real ruin of Breton commerce occurs after the death of Alain le Grand in 907.

The north and northwest coast of the Frankland suffered from intermittent and increasing forays by the Northmen.⁶ But down to the death of Louis the Pious in 840 the interior trade of the country certainly was little affected by them. On March 21, 841, Charles the Bald crossed the Seine with his army in the campaign

¹ La Borderie, II, 75-79.

² "Franci volebant per vim totam Britanniam occupare" (*Vita S. Conwoion*, in Mabillon, *Acta O.S.*, p. 202).

³ For the text of the charter see *Chroniques de Nantes*, ed. Merlet, pp. 46-47. Crowds of pilgrims were in Nantes in 843 (*ibid.*, p. 16).

⁴ La Borderie, II, 105. Actard worked upon the sympathies of Charles the Bald by this tale, who wrote to Nicholas I: "Civitas olim florentissima, nunc exusta et funditus diruta reducta per decennium cernitur in eremum" (Bouquet, VII, 559).

⁵ For the commerce of Noirmoutier see *Translatio S. Mauri*, chap. 8, in *M.G.H.SS.*, XV, 469: "Nauclerus cujusdam ratis ex his quae mercibus inservientes magnis quaestibus oneratae sursum per Ligerim adscendere solent." The list of rich gifts donated to the church of Nantes by Salomon in 869 further confirms this evidence of the prosperity of Nantes. See La Borderie, II, 106-7; *Cartulaire de Redon*, Prolég., p. lxvii and p. 189.

⁶ The earliest complaint of the interruption of cross-channel communication is in 846 in Letter 71 of Loup de Ferrières, in which he complains: "intermissa Transmarinorum cura." The allusion is to the interruption of pilgrim travel, but the same complaint would apply to commerce.

which culminated in the battle of Fontenay (June 25, 841) on twenty-eight merchant ships which were brought up stream to Rouen from the embouchure of the Seine, and had escaped the destruction of all other river craft by Lothar's agents.¹ Before the civil wars of the Carolingian princes, with which the penetration of the Northmen into the interior of the realm coincides, the cities of Central France probably still largely lived the life they had enjoyed under Charlemagne. *The Life of St. Philibert* by Falcon written in the ninth century, describes Poitiers as a *populosa civitas*.² Chartres is similarly characterized even in the first quarter of the tenth century.³ Hilduin, abbot of St. Denis, who died in 842, in a *Life of the saint* which he wrote, is certainly picturing the Paris of his own time more than that of the emperor Domitian in the words: "Parisiorum civitas, ut sedes regia . . . constipata populis, referta commerciis ac variis commeatibus, unda fluminis circumferente."⁴ Adrevald, a monk of Fleury, who died in 878, is quite as eloquent: "Quid Lutetia Parisiorum nobile caput, resplendens quondam gloria, opibus, fertilitate soli, incolarum quietissima pace, quam non immerito regum divitias, *emporium* dixero *populorum*."⁵ Aimon, a monk of St. Germain-des-Prés, describes Paris after the first capture of the city by Ragnar Lobdrog: "Urbem quondam populosum . . . opiniatissimam Parisiorum civitatem."⁶ The *quondam* in each of these two quotations testifies to the city's injury. Yet even in the height of the invasions, in spite of four visitations and a long and terrible siege, the commerce of Paris survived. The Northmen⁷ never penetrated but once

¹ Nithard, Book II, chap. 5. The date is derived from the *Chron. of St. Wandrille* in *M.G.H.SS.*, II, 301.

² Chap. 50.

³ *Cartulaire de St. Père de Chartres*, I, 2.

⁴ Quoted by Favre, *Eudes, roi de France*, p. 22, n. 4.

⁵ *Miracula S. Bened.*, chap. 33, in *M.G.H.SS.*, XV, 494; cf. Favre, p. 22; Vogel, p. 108, n. 3; Flach, *Les Origines de l'ancienne France*, III, 219, note.

⁶ *Mirac. S. Germani* in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum saec.*, III, tome 2, pp. 106, 109.

⁷ See the long note by Lot, "La grande invasion normande de 856-62," *Bib. de l'école des chartes*, 1908, LXIX, 12-23.

Ninth-century Paris was composed of the Cité and the faubourgs. The latter were pillaged and burned several times, being without defense—*defensionis destitutos*,

into the Cité. The faubourgs¹ suffered severely in 845, 856, 861, 865, 885-86. But the Parisians always followed the same tactics, abandoning the banks to devastation and seeking refuge on the island. Here monk and priest, merchant and craftsman sought asylum. That the commerce of the city was not wholly destroyed we know from the circumstance that in January, 861, when the Northmen, who were established on the Isle of Wessel in the lower Seine, made an unexpected raid in the dead of winter, some merchants were captured by them.² War and commerce with the Northmen went hand in hand. A curious bit of information in the *Annals of St. Bertin* for 865 shows this. In that year both banks of the Seine were patrolled by squadrons of cavalry. The division on the left bank did its duty and repulsed a force of 500 Northmen bent upon Chartres along the old Roman road out of Rouen. On the right bank Count Alard failed in vigilance and a detachment of 250 penetrated to the environs of Paris in search of wine, but returned unsuccessful.³

In some places trade seems even to have been considerably stimulated by the invasions. The Norse armies were dogged by adventurous peddlers⁴ and merchants, and much of their booty must have been disposed of soon after its taking. The capitularies

says Aimon. When it is said that the Northmen took Paris in 845, 856, 861, 866, it simply means that the faubourgs were plundered. The same is true of Rheims in 882. Labande (*Histoire de Beauvais et de ses institutions*, 1892) has compiled a list of 23 important towns in France where there was a *suburbium*. One of the texts is of the eleventh century; four are of the tenth; the rest are of the eighth and ninth centuries—a significant fact. See Lot, *Le Moyen Age*, 1898, II, 322-26, and compare this article *infra*.

¹ The faubourgs on the right bank, the more important of the two, were chiefly peopled by artisans and small tradesmen, most of them probably dependent upon the abbeys of St. Gervais, St. Merri, St. Germain le Rond, St. Laurent, and the church of St. Martin des Champs (Favre, *Eudes, roi de France*, p. 21). But free workmen still survived in France. The Edict of Pistes (864) shows it (§ 20) though they undoubtedly tended to diminish. See Keutgen, *Aemter und Zünfte*, pp. 43-44.

² *Annals of St. Bertin*, 861.

³ Cf. Lot, "Mélanges Carolingiens," *Le Moyen Age*, 1905, IX, 7.

⁴ In *Vita S. Germani*, Mabillon, *AASS.*, III, 2, p. 100, is a reference to a peddler who traveled with a single ass "quem de civitate in civitatem onustum ducens, quidquid in una villa emebat, carius vendere satagebat in altera."

abound with prohibitions of sale to the Northmen, especially of arms and horses.¹

But sometimes the commercial relations of the Norsemen savored of greater refinement. For example, in 873, when Ludwig the German was at Bürstadt near Worms, Siegfried the Danish king and co-ruler with his brother Halfdan—they were sons of Horich II of Denmark—came thither “*pacis faciendae gratia . . . et ut negotiatores utriusque regni . . . mercimonia . . . emerent et venderent pacifice.*”² In the same year the Northmen of the Loire agreed to evacuate Nantes on a fixed day, and not to commit plunder or pillage, provided that in the meantime their market was unmolested.³ In 882, during the negotiations which followed Charles the Fat’s siege of Elsloo, the gates of the Norse camp were thrown open and some of the Franks ventured in for purposes of trade.⁴

The enormous amount of plunder secured by the invaders seems often to have made markets spring up, as it were, over night. Article 19 of the capitulary of Pistes in 864 shows this. In it Charles sought to ascertain what markets formerly existed; whether with or without royal sanction; and what *new* ones had been recently opened.⁵ Evidently commerce could not have suffered everywhere, but on the other hand in many places must have been

¹ E.g., *Capit. pist.*, p. 864, sec. 25; *mercatores ac scuta vendentes imperatorem et hostem sequebantur—Annals of St. Bertin*, 876. Cf. Vogel, p. 204; Dopsch: *Wirtschafts-Entwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, II, 190; Waitz, *D.V.G.*, IV (2d ed.), p. 51. Frodoard (*Hist. Eccles. Rem.* Book II, chap. 20) gives an astonishing instance of this complicity even of Franks of highest station with the Northmen. During the civil wars Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, and several other West Frank bishops espoused the cause of Lothar and were deposed. The renegade archbishop decamped for St. Vaast with the treasure of the church, “*cum quibusdam Normannis, qui iter et portus maris ac fluminum mare influentium notos habebant . . . noctu Remis aufugit . . . et iter ad Normannos . . . arripuit.*”

² *Annals of Xanten*, 873.

³ *Annals of St. Bertin*, 873.

⁴ *Annals of Fulda*, 882.

⁵ Baluze, II, r82; cf. Lesne, *Essai sur la législation économique des Carolingiens* p. 147. In Frodoard, *Hist. Eccles. Rem.*, I, chap. 20, is the case of a soldier who seized the wine some villagers had stored in the church for safety, and started a tavern there—“*quasi tabernam constituens in eadem ecclesia, paribus suis illud vendere coepit.*”

stimulated. The Northmen undoubtedly disturbed things seriously, but often sold their booty in the land. New markets must have arisen through the decay of old ones or by the change of location in the case of established places too greatly exposed.¹ We have a particular instance of this kind of thing in the grant made by Charles the Bald to Robert the Strong of a considerable number of possessions on the right bank of the Loire River near Tours, among them Briga, where later the fair of St. Bartholomew arose, and the church of St. Symphorian, with a harbor. The market there and the harbor duties were a profitable source of revenue.²

Again: the immense sums of money which the Northmen extorted from the coffers of the church and the nobles in the form of Danegeld must sometimes have had a tonic effect upon trade. Since the decline of the Roman Empire Gaul, in common with all the West, had experienced an enormous reduction in the amount of currency in circulation. Most of it had been drawn off to the East, or else hoarded. Now it was forcibly brought into the light of day. Clipped or counterfeited as much of the coin was, it yet seems to have stimulated exchange, and Charles's endeavors to purify and to regulate the coinage and to establish a uniform system of weights and measures may reasonably be taken as the symptoms of an awakening trade.³

Almost all writers who have dealt with the age of Charles the Bald have somewhat unwarrantably assumed that the legislation of the king everywhere testifies to the degradation of the government and the dissolution of society. Yet it is significant that the legislation about bridges before 862 is purely commercial and does not deal with the defense of the realm.⁴ May not Charles's legisla-

¹ Cf. Kalckstein, *Robert der Tapfere*, p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³ *Capit. pist.*, sec. 20; cf. Keutgen, *Aemter und Zünfte*, p. 122. Even localities with rights of immunity were subject to these general trade regulations (*Edict. Pist.*, 864, § 8).

⁴ Lot, "Le Pont de Pitres," *Le Moyen Age*, 1905, IX, 2, note. An example is *Capit. Attin.*, secs. 4-5 (854). In 861 Charles undertook the erection of a bridge at Paris "pro totius utilitate regni . . . de aerarii nostro scato" (Bouquet, VII, 568). Cf. Flach, I, 335, note. Bridge-builders were among the most skilled workmen of the time, and bridge-building was an ancient activity of the church. See the capitulary

tion with reference to markets, trade, etc., be an index of a revived commerce? To be sure the clergy—especially the monasteries—were the chief beneficiaries of this revival, since most fair and market concessions were made to them.¹ But the point is that there was an active commerce in France at a time when the commerce of the country is usually represented as having been almost totally destroyed.

Charles, like his grandfather, held that the *mercatus* was the property of the crown. But in practice both granted concessions to the churches to establish markets upon their domains—annual, weekly, or otherwise. During the ninth century these markets increased greatly in number, but we have few particulars.² The cupidity of the clergy and the proprietary ambitions and usurpations of the baronage undoubtedly inhibited the operations of commerce, yet the multiplication of these tiny localities which are *new* indicates that a process of economic spontaneous generation, so to speak, was nevertheless at work.³ The donations of the crown, from one point of view, may be taken as a symptom of the decline of the royal prerogative of control of commerce. But from the other point of view they are evidences of a progressive, not a decaying, transition, in which society is adjusting itself to new social and economic conditions. The mere protection afforded by castles, palisades, and walls, whose rapid erection is a striking phenomenon

of Lothar, I (854), in Baluze, II, 338, title 32: "De pontibus vero vel reliquis his similibus operibus, quae per antiquam consuetudinem ecclesiastici homines et per justitiam cum reliquo populo facere debent," etc.

Perhaps we have here a foreshadowing of the *Frères Pontifices* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; cf. Levasseur, *Hist. des classes ouvrières*, 2d ed., I, 193-94. M. Ferdinand Lot's article cited above is very instructive on the history of early bridge-building; cf. also Favre, pp. 23-26.

¹ Huvelin, *Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires*, pp. 158-61; Levasseur, *Hist. des classes ouvrières*, 2d ed., I, 140 ff., and especially Imbart de la Tour, *Des Immunités commerciales accordées aux églises*.

² Examples of local markets are Beaulieu, 859; St. Urbain, 862, Mercatum—Witriniaco, Mercatum in villa Cormellias, a dependency of St. Denis. In the far South we find such grants at Narbonne, 843; Agde, 848; Urgel, 860. In Septimania and the March of Spain the king was prodigal of such gifts. See Imbart de la Tour, *op. cit.*, p. 24, note; p. 28, note.

³ Cf. See, *Les Classes rurales et la régime domanial en France au Moyen Age*, pp. 102-3; Huvelin, pp. 171-73.

of this century, will not wholly explain the new order of things. M. Imbart de la Tour puts the case most admirably:

Il serait non moins intéressant de savoir l'organisation intérieure de ces marchés ecclésiastiques. Nous voyons bien qu'ils formaient vis-à-vis du roi ou du comte de petits territoires privilégiés. Nous ne savons pas quels rapports s'étaient établis entre les moines et les marchands appelés sur leur domaine. Les taxes étaient-elles moins élevées? Aucun texte ne nous le dit. Il suffisait peut-être au marchand d'être protégé contre les violences et les actes arbitraires des comtes ou des agents du fisc. Quand on voit les rapines exercées par les fonctionnaires royaux dans les pays qu'ils administrent, on comprend qu'échapper à leur juridiction était le plus grand des privilèges. Mais on peut croire aussi que, dans ces marchés soustraits au *bannus* du comte, se formèrent de bonne heure une coutume, une jurisprudence, une procédure locale. Et c'est peut-être dans ces immunités ecclésiastiques que le *jus mercatorum* a sa première origine. Ainsi s'expliqueraient quelques traits encore mal connus de la formation des villes monastiques. S'il est vrai que les *civitates novae*, dont parle l'édit de Pistes, soient ces agglomérations créées autour des couvents, c'est par le commerce et la coutume du marché que ces groupes se sont établis. . . . C'est peut-être dans les sociétés marchandes des abbayes qu'il faut chercher une des origines de la gilde, dans la constitution de leurs marchés, la genèse d'une coutume nouvelle, dans le territoire même où ce marché est établi, la cellule d'où sortirent quelques-unes des cités marchandes au douzième siècle.¹

In three remarkable chapters M. Flach has shown the interaction of those various elements which were so organic in mediaeval society—the religious, the military, the commercial—in the formation of these “new towns” around the castles and the monasteries.² The sources for this enormous change in political organization and in social texture abound in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and it is chiefly upon the history of this time that M. Flach dwells. But the beginnings of this fecund social process go back to the period of the Norse invasions and the anarchy of the tenth century. The deeper we penetrate into the details of the history of these two centuries the more we discover that this epoch was fertile in social origins, in the adjustment of society to new conditions, in the evolution of new institutions. If the sources are so few, it is not because the times were so barbarous that they kept no records, but

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 27, 29.

² Flach, *op. cit.*, II, Book 3, chaps. 6–8; Levasseur, *Hist. des classes ouvrières*, 2d ed., pp. 153–56.

because the records have been destroyed. Fortunately enough have survived, however, out of the depth of the ninth century, to show the organic life of the age. The most notable examples of these "new towns" are to be found in the Northeast, in Flanders. Bruges, Bergues, and Ypres owe their origin to the concentration of local society around a castle.¹ But the same thing is observable in the far South, in Roussillon, for example.²

The churches, however, especially the abbeys, profited most in the changing order. Under their walls the important fairs were held; within their precincts and in their employ as commercial agents were merchants whose activities up and down the rivers of France are the connecting link between the early Middle Ages and the rise of urban communities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³ The origin of these trading franchises to bishoprics and monasteries goes back to Merovingian times, but the practice enormously

¹ For Bruges see *Johannis Longi Chronica Sancti Bertini* in *M.G.H.SS.*, XXV, 768; or in Fagniez, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire du commerce et de l'industrie*, I, No. 95. For Bergues and Ypres see *Chronicon Silhiense* in Bouquet, IX, 74-75. The stones for the castle of Bruges were brought from the ruins of an old Roman town, locally reputed to have been destroyed by Attila (*Chronicon monast. Aldenburgensis*, ed. J. B. Malou, Bruges, 1840, pp. 34-36).

² *Hist. du Languedoc*, new ed., III, 112, note. Along the Mediterranean littoral, on account of the forays of the Mohammedan corsairs, whole villages were fortified (Brutails, *Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age*, pp. 34-35).

The significance of the formation of these groups for the history of town origins has not escaped historians; for example, Pirenne, Nitzsch, and Schmoller. The first in particular is strongly inclined to find the origin of the commune in the "bourg" i.e., the *suburbium*, where traveling peddlers, merchants, and artisans came to settle around the *castrum* or castle. This theory has been criticized as "much too schematic" by Lot in a review of Pirenne's well-known article upon "Les Origines des constitutions urbaines au Moyen Age" (see *Le Moyen Age*, III, 90-94), and the provenance of the merchants, whether foreign (*advenae*) or not, is still a disputed question. The proposition seems to be truer of the Flemish cities than of others.

³ The diplomas of Charles the Bald abound with references to the "factors" of the monasteries, e.g., Bouquet, VIII, 454-55 (St. Denis), 469-70 (St. Maur), 484-85 (St. Germain des Près).

Loup de Ferrières describes the building (in the winter of 851-52) of just such a barge as the monasteries must have used. It plied on the Loing, the Seine, and the Oise rivers. To construct it he had twenty trees shipped from Marnay in the diocese of Sens. Iron seems to have been the most difficult thing to get. See *Epp.*, 75, 111, and 113.

expanded under the Carolingians,¹ especially under Charles the Bald. The eagerness with which the monasteries applied for port privileges along the rivers, even in the midst of the Northmen inroads, shows that the interior trade of France still was lucrative. In 843 the monastery of Cormery was given exemption from all tolls on the Loire, Seine, Marne, Sarthe, "et caetera flumina regni nostri";² in 852 St. Symphorian near Tours was given a port on each bank of the river;³ in 859 St. Germain d'Auxerre was absolved from every toll;⁴ in the same year the monks of Beaulieu were given immunity from tolls and the right of a market "in Suiniaco vico";⁵ in 860 the church of Urgel was granted a third of all the revenues arising from commerce within the diocese;⁶ in 862 the monastery of St. Urbain established a weekly market with the king's permission;⁷ in 864 St. Denis acquired the market rights in Pontoise;⁸ in 867 St. Vaast acquired Berneval on the channel coast, a not unimportant port.⁹ But St. Wandrille seems to have pushed the principle of nothing venture, nothing have to the farthest extreme, for in 853 this monastery actually acquired Caudebec as a port of deposit on the lower course of the Seine, right in the path of the Northmen.¹⁰

At convenient points along the rivers, for traffic by stream was greater than by land, these episcopal and monastic syndicates had warehouses or magazines for the deposit of merchandise, called *areae casellae* [Greek, *kasêla*], or *patellae*.¹¹

¹ See the interesting account in Imbart de la Tour, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-9.

² Bouquet, VIII, 450.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 590.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 520.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 562.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 604.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 559-60.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 584.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 522.

¹¹ *Marculfi Formularum*, Lib. II, No. 20: "vinditio de area infra civitate," in *M.G.H., Leges*, V, 90. Cf. another example of the same word in *Formulae Bituricensis*, No. 1, *ibid.*, V, 169; *Formulae Turonenses*, No. 43: "vinditio de area vel casa infra civitate. . . . Hoc est mea casa cum ipsa area, ubi posita est infra civitatem vel burgum" (*ibid.*, V, 158).

For examples of the use of word *Patellae* see *M.G.H., Leges*, I, 243, 256. Brunner has attempted to elucidate the commercial terminology of these formulae in an article in *Zeitschrift für Handelsrecht*, XXII, 59-134. Eastern drugs and spices seem to have been an important article of commerce in these places. Du Cange, *s.v.* "area," quotes from the *Chartul. eccles. colleg. de leproso* in Bourges, "Stalla seu logiae areae nundinarum: locus ubi apothecae seu officinae exstruuntur." Of course the date of this charter is much later than the time we are considering, but the late use of the word may be a reminiscence of a much earlier practice.

As with commerce, so it was with industry. It prospered most under the wing of the monasteries. The thorny question whether the industrial corporations of the late Roman Empire survived the period of the barbarian invasion and contributed to the origin of the mediaeval guilds need not be considered here. But an important historical fact is that in the ninth century we find numbers of artisan groups attached to the abbeys, and in a less degree to lay manors. Sometimes the news of the founding of a new monastery drew such workmen in numbers, where there was employment for masons, stone-cutters, carpenters, tanners, dyers, fullers, etc.¹ The most notable example of such an industrial group in the ninth century is at St. Riquier, but there is evidence of other similar groups in Soissons,² in St. Denis and its dependencies,³ and at St. Bertin.⁴

In the case of St. Riquier and St. Bertin the details are sufficient to show that the trades were grouped in "quarters" around the monastery—*per ministeria*, says the Chronicle of St. Bertin. At St. Riquier we find the street of the saddlers (*vicus sellariorum*), the street of the bakers (*vicus pistorum*), the street of the furriers (*vicus pellificum*), the street of the cobblers (*vicus sutorum*), the street of the vintners (*vicus vinitorum*), the street of the fullers (*vicus fullinum*), etc.—eleven "quarters" in all. The whole industrial organization of a town⁵ in the ninth century is unfolded

¹ *Ordericus Vitalis*, Book VIII, chap. 27: "In loco silvestri, qui Tiron dicitur coenobium in honore Sancti Salvatoris construxit. Illuc multitudo fidelium utriusque ordinis abunde confluit, et praedictus pater omnes ad conversionem properantes, charitativo amplexu suscipit, et singulis artes, quas noverant, legitimas in monasterio exercere praecepit. Unde libenter convenerunt ad eum fabri, tam lignarii, quam ferrarii, sculptores et aurifabri, pictores et coementarii, vinitores et agricolae, multorumque officiorum artifices peritissimi."

² The corporation of the shoemakers in 885, whose patron saints were St. Crispin and St. Crispinian, cited by Viollet, *Institutions politiques de la France*, III, 145, note from *Collection Baluze*, tome 379, folio 1. It seems to me that Keutgen, *Aemler und Zünfte*, p. 59, underestimates the cloister industries of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. He gives the Cistercians the credit for this kind of development. But times had changed by the twelfth century. Considering the general economic decline of Europe after Charlemagne, was the industrial activity of the monasteries less in proportion than later?

³ Bouquet, VIII, 577 ff. (862).

⁴ *Chron. Sancti Bertini* in Bouquet, IX, 71, 75; Fagniez, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie et du commerce*, I, Introd., p. xxxii.

⁵ Levasseur, *Hist. des classes ouvrières*, 2d ed., I, 191, estimates St. Riquier to have had a population of 14,000.

in this document.¹ But it is notable that there is no evidence of an internal bond of association among the craftsmen of St. Riquier, although the industries seem quite differentiated. In the case of the shoemakers of Soissons, however, we find the tantalizing expression *clientala sutorum*. Does this phrase imply a gild organization? If so, it probably means nothing more than one of those fellowship associations (perhaps of German origin?) which the Carolingian legislation sought to suppress, and to which the well-known statutes of Hincmar allude.²

These evidences of commercial and industrial activity in France in the ninth century belie the jeremiads of the monks of the time, and show that we must take their pictures of the terrible disorder with reservation. There was still a handful of merchants in Rouen when Normandy was ceded to Rolf.³ It is undeniable that the distress of the monasteries was frequently deliberately misrepresented in order to prevail upon the crown to enlarge their possessions. Hardship and misery the monks doubtless often endured, but it was a misery wholly relative. They suffered less than ordinary people and were amply compensated for their discomfort.⁴

¹ See *Chronique de St. Riquier*, ed. Ferdinand Lot, Appendix 7, pp. 306-8; "Opidum ipsum varias artificum habebat regiones seu vicos, veluti totidem monasterii officinas"—*A.A.S.S.*, Feb., III, 105; cf. Fagniez, I, *Introd.*, pp. xxvii-xxxii; Prou, *Le Moyen Age*, 1896, pp. 43-45; Viollet, III, 145-46; Flach, II, 319-20. Mabillon piously points to this remarkable industrial activity at St. Riquier as a fulfilment of the famous 66th article of the Benedictine rule—*Annales Ord. S. Bened.*, II, 333. A modern historian may justly believe that pence and profits were equal motives with piety. Müller, *Zur Frage des Ursprungs der mittelalterlichen Zünfte*, Appendix, thinks that this account of the *Urbarium* of St. Riquier is to be dated *ca.* 1126, instead of in the ninth century. He ascribes it to the reign of Louis VI, who ordained the statutes of a commune at St. Riquier in that year (Luchaire, *Annales de Louis VI*, No. 372).

² See Fagniez, I, *Introd.*, pp. xxxvi-vii; Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, II, 2, p. 336; Flach, II, 374 ff.; Viollet, III, 146-47, gives the literature on this subject.

The gilds were illicit corporations in Carolingian law, with the possible exception of goldsmiths and the *marcbands de l'eau* of Paris and certain *collegia* in the far South. Charles the Bald established the proportion of one livre of gold to twelve of silver in the workmanship of gold and silversmiths (*Edict. Pist.*, secs. 24, 26, in Baluze, II, 185).

³ Dudo, cited by Fréville, I, 86.

⁴ "Totam enim paene sui reipublicae regni censum in hujusmodi expensis tribuebat."—*Vita Hugonis Aeduensis*, chap. 7; "Carolus Calvus . . . erga cultum ecclesiae Dei fuit studiosissimus."—*Chron. S. Benign. Divion*, ed. Bougaud, p. 98; cf. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, I, 27, note.

Bourgeois pointedly has said that "the clergy with aid of false charters in general got more than they lost."¹

Other valuable evidence of the commercial activity of France in this time is derived from the history of the Danegeld. Merchants were several times required to contribute to this imposition. In 860 "Karlus rex exactionem de thesauris ecclesiarum et omnibus mansis ac *negociatoribus* etiam paupertinis"² and in the next year these (or other merchants like them) were caught in a sudden raid of the Northmen near Paris, as we have already seen.³ In the same year Chappes, an important entrepôt on the upper Seine, was pillaged.⁴ In 866 the merchants again were assessed for a tenth.⁵ The great *exactio* of Compiègne in 877, however, and the supplementary provisions to this ordinance made at Kiersey soon afterward in the same year afford us the most detailed information regarding the classes of merchants found in France at this time. By the former both traveling and settled merchants were required to contribute to the Danegeld according to their fortune.⁶ The collection of the tribute proved a difficult matter, and six weeks later, at Kiersey, on June 14, 877, a fixed quota was exacted in addition from other merchants in the kingdom—a tenth (of their capital?) from the *Cappi* and Jewish merchants, and an eleventh from those who were Christian.⁷

¹ Bourgeois, *Le Capitulaire de Kiersey*, pp. 261-63, where he shows the hypocrisy even of Loup de Ferrières.

² *Annals of St. Bertin*, 860.

³ Lot in *Bib. de l'école des chartes*, 1908, LXIX, 46, n. 3, believes these merchants to have been the *marchands de l'eau* of Paris. The question of their identity is taken up farther on in this article.

⁴ Loup de Ferrières, *Ep.* 125: "Vastatis longe lateque celeberrimis locis, etiam sedem negotiatorum Cappas se petituros jactabant."

⁵ *Annals of St. Bertin*, 866.

⁶ *Exactio Normannis Constituta*: "De negotiatoribus autem vel in civitatibus commanent juxta possibilitatem, secundum quod habuerint de facultatibus conjectus exigatur" in Baluze, II, 258; *M.G.H. Leges*, II, 353, ed. Krause.

M. Lot translates: "marchands ambulants et citadins."—*Le Moyen Age*, 1905, IX, 14; cf. Lesne, I, 38.

⁷ "De Cappis et aliis negotiatoribus, videlicet ut Judaei dent decimam et negotiatores Christiani undecimam."—Baluze, II, 267; *M.G.H. Leges*, II, 361, ed. Krause.

The Jews labored under unusual hardship, particularly from the fact that they could not recover debts from Frank subjects by process of law, though they were protected. See the act of Louis the Pious in Bouquet, VI, 650-51.

An enormous amount of interest attaches to the identification of each of these merchant groups. These *marchands citadins* of 877 must be related to those merchants mentioned in 860, 861, and 866. With Paris as a base they traded through the Ile-de-France and Champagne, using the rivers as highways. At Chappes in the upper Seine, as will be shown, they probably touched the Transalpine trade. Were they the predecessors of those *mercatores aquae Parisiaci*, first officially recognized in 1121 in a charter of Louis VI?¹ M. Lot, I think with justice, calls the *negotiatores* mentioned in 861 *marchands de l'eau*.² If this is correct, then we have here evidence that the Parisian hanse had a continuous, if obscure, history from the ninth to the twelfth century. For years historians have teased their minds with wonder whether this association can have been descended from the old Roman *nautae Parisiaci*, one of the many corporations of rivermen to be found in the empire upon the Rhone, the Sâone, the Durance, the Seine, the Loire, the Moselle, etc.³ Pigeonneau⁴ believes in the probability. Luchaire, with more caution, has said: "La certitude absolue ne peut exister en pareille matière, puisque le moyen de prouver qu'il y eu filiation directe entre ces marchands et les nautes parisiens de l'époque gallo-romaine fait encore défaut."⁵

Picarda, in 1901, contended that the Roman corporation in Paris wholly disappeared, and that the origin of the Parisian hanse, whose earliest official recognition dates from Louis VI, is to be found in the critical state of Paris in the ninth century owing to the invasions of the Northmen and the military measures then taken.⁶

¹ See Luchaire, *Annals de Louis VI*, No. 303.

² *Bib. de l'école des chartes*, 1908, LXIX, 46, note.

³ Fagniez, I, Nos. 24-28, 31; cf. *Intro.*, pp. xi-xii; Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule romaine*, III, 260-64; Picarda, *Les Marchands de l'eau, hanse parisienne*, p. 18.

⁴ *Histoire du commerce de la France*, I, 115, 2.

⁵ *Manuel des institutions françaises*, p. 357; Doren, p. 68, scoffs at the idea.

⁶ "Il est permis de croire que c'est vers la fin du IX siècle ou dans les commencements du Xe que la hanse a du se constituer. . . . Les ravages causés par les Normands, sur le cours de la Seine, dans la région parisienne, vers 861, ont dû occasionner ces diverses mesures de précaution. . . . Dès 865 des mesures énergiques furent prises par Charles le Chauve pour rétablir la sécurité sur le cours de la Seine. . . . L'apparition de la hanse parisienne a été sans doute la conséquence de ces mesures d'ordre militaire."—Picarda, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

Professor Pirenne, whose opinion concerning mediaeval urban origins is entitled to very great weight, and who has recently reviewed the evidence touching the origin of the Parisian hanse (*A propos de la hanse parisienne des marchands de l'eau-Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont*, Paris, 1913, pp. 91-99), pronounces this thesis of Picarda "trop aventureuse et trop dénuée de preuves de rallier les suffrages," and inclines to favor the conclusion of Huisman (*La Juridiction de la municipalité parisienne de Saint Louis à Charles VII*, Paris, 1912), who finds the origin of the Parisian hanse in an association formed by the merchants of Paris after the Norman conquest of England in order to protect themselves against the competition of Rouen, whose commerce was powerfully stimulated by the union of Normandy and England. The two theories are not mutually exclusive, but rather complementary. I believe that the evidence of this article shows that the merchant group in Paris in the ninth century was more important than Picarda surmised, and in so far his thesis is a reasonable one; and that the "ligue de protection économique constituée pour résister au développement commercial de Rouen," which M. Huisman advocates, was only a closer formation of a previously existing merchant community in Paris.

But can the continuity be traced farther back? May we not reasonably predicate of Paris what we know to have been the case at Verdun? Gregory of Tours relates at length how Theodoric, in or about the year 539, borrowed 7,000 gold pieces from *negotiatores* of Verdun *cum usuris legitimis*, through the instrumentality of the bishop, and how "those who transacted the business profited by the deal and even to this day are held in high esteem."¹ Over four hundred years later, in 985, Richer describes the merchants of Verdun as living in a walled quarter of their own across the river, but connected with the city by two bridges.²

¹ *Historia Francorum*, Book III, chap. 84. Cf. Loebell, *Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit*, pp. 28-29; Marignan, *La Société mérovingienne*, pp. 57-58; Fahlbeck, *La Royauté et le droit royal des francs*, p. 143; Coulanges, *La Monarchie franque*, p. 276.

² " . . . negotiatorum claustrum, muro instar oppidi exstructum, ab urbe quidem Mosa interfluente sejunctum, sed pontibus duobus interstratis ei annexum."—*Historiarum Quatuor Libri*, Book III, chap. 103; cf. Maurer, *Geschichte der Städteverfassung*, II, 34.

Now, as M. Camille Jullian has said, it is pure hazard that no inscriptions have been found to prove the existence of any corporations of *navicularii* on the Garonne and the Meuse.¹ They are to be found on every other river of Gaul and there must have been such a group on the Meuse in Roman times,² considering the commercial importance of the stream.³ It seems to me that there is reasonable probability that this merchant group of Verdun which Gregory of Tours mentions in the sixth century, and Richer in the ninth century as of such importance, harks back to a Roman mercantile corporation once there. If this be so, then considering the greater importance and magnitude of Paris in the Middle Ages when compared with Verdun, and the demonstrated presence there in the ninth century of a merchant group of sufficient wealth to be taxed several times by the government, does not the continuity of the Parisian hanse from Roman to Capetian times appear more colorable than hitherto supposed?

It remains to discover the identity of the itinerant merchants who are mentioned in the Edict of Kiersey. It is today proved that in the history of the commercial development of both France and Germany in the early Middle Ages these "birds of passage" were prior both in point of time and importance to settled merchants. In the ninth century town life was not yet sufficiently developed, market rights too ill defined, local regulation too unstable, to enable provincial trade to compete in importance with the more lucrative "through" trade. Even as late as the eleventh century this still seems to have been the condition in France, if one may draw an inference from the *Treuga Dei*, whose provisions aim to protect the *person* of merchants, but say nothing of established markets.⁴ A

¹ *Histoire de la Gaule*, IV, 401, note.

² Walzing, *Les Corporations professionnelles*, II, 157. There are traces of surviving Roman corporations in the German codes. See Walzing, *op. cit.*, II, 347.

³ "Tant que le commerce resta fidèle aux anciennes directions que lui avaient traces les voies romaines, il y eut à Verdun, à Neufchâteau, une fréquentation notable de marchands, banquiers, changeurs, sur les routes qui, de Champagne et des Flandres, tendaient vers l'Allemagne du Sud et le Danube."—Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, I, i, p. 219.

⁴ Doren, pp. 26–27 and n. 2.

comparison of the *exactio* of Compiègne, which taxed those merchants whose seat was in Paris, with Art. 31 of the capitulary of Kiersey, shows the different estimation in which the two classes were held. The settled merchants were assessed *juxta possibilitatem*, i.e., according to their means; the itinerant merchants were assessed a tenth and an eleventh respectively.

A reading of Art. 31 of the capitulary discloses three kinds of traveling merchants—Christian merchants, Jews, and *Cappi*. Of these classes the mercantile activities of the Jews are so well known that no further consideration of them is necessary beyond, perhaps, observing that the number of Jewish traders in France at this time is likely to have been greater than usual, since in 855 Lothar I had banished them from his dominions.¹ But who were the *negiatores Christiani* in Art. 31? The *marchands de l'eau* of Paris cannot be meant, for they already had been taxed in the *exactio* of Compiègne. In spite of the fact that no one has yet ventured so to suggest, I have no doubt that *Italian* merchants are here intended, although no specific mention of them as such is made.

The evidence for this belief is inferential, it is admitted, but it seems to me to have the color of probability. It partly rests upon the very close political relations between France and Italy which prevailed in the last years of the reign of Charles the Bald. These connections were closer and more intimate than is usually appreciated. The abbé Duchesne has aptly said, writing of the trouble of Pope John VIII, that “an Italian or a Roman felt quite at his ease at Arles, Vienne, Lyons, and even towns such as Rheims, Sens, St. Denis, and Tours were not altogether foreign to him. He was familiar with their names and traditions in his own language.”²

In the ninth century the Italians—especially the Venetians—were the most prominent Christian traders in the West, and at this time (877) the relations between Italy and France were peculiarly favorable to intercourse between the two countries. Lothar I and Ludwig II had each recently made treaties with Venice providing for the free movement of her merchants through their

¹ Waitz, IV, 344, n. 8. The wine trade was largely in their hands and they were great purveyors of Levantine goods—silk, spices, perfumes, etc.

² Duchesne, *Beginnings of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes*, p. 171.

territories by road and river, subject to the payment of the customary tolls¹ and the emperor Ludwig II, in 854, had made a special effort to protect merchants and pilgrims to Rome (from beyond the Alps?) from molestation.² Heyd hazards the conjecture that Italian merchants possibly were purveyors of Levantine wares beyond the Alps as early as this, but the only reference he cites in support is mention of the presence of Lombard merchants at the fair of St. Denis in the reign of Dagobert, which is pointless for the eighth and ninth centuries.³ Since then Schulte has shown the commercial use of the Alpine passes in the tenth century, and that Venetian merchants monopolized the eastern trade at the fairs of Ferrara and Pavia. But the earliest source of information he cites for this opinion is Luitprand of Cremona, which is after the middle of the tenth century.⁴

I have been fortunate in finding evidence on this head falling within the ninth century, which, so far as I can ascertain, has not been pointed out. It is a paragraph in the *Life of Gerald of Aurillac*, chap. 27, by Odo of Cluny, and pertains to the year 894. In that year Gerald went to Rome to see Pope Formosus in the interest of the abbey which he was about to found.⁵ Upon his return he

¹ Waitz, IV, 59: "secundum antiquam consuetudinem."

² Baluze, II, 345: "Eos qui Roman orationis causa pergunt, vel qui negotiandi causa per regnum nostrum discurrant."

³ *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, I, 93, n. 3. A letter of Alcuin, Ep. 213, seems to indicate that merchants from Italy were in Gaul in Charlemagne's time: "hunc nostrum negociatorem Italiae mercimonia ferentem."

⁴ Schulte, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels und Verkehrs*, I, 76, n. 1. Frodoard, *Hist. Eccles. Rem.*, II, chap. 8, gives a graphic account of the perils of Alpine traveling in 849. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, III, 230, thinks there were no Italian merchants in the north of France before the twelfth century. Yet in 1074 Gregory VII accused Philip I of despoiling Italian merchants. "Etiam mercatoribus, qui de multis terrarum partibus ad forum quoddam in Francia nuper convenerant—quod ante hoc a rege factum fuisse, nec in fabulis refertur—more praedonis infinitam pecuniam abstulit."—Jaffe, *Monumenta Gregoriana*, p. 115. The truth is that we know next to nothing about the commercial relations between Italy and France in these centuries. The acts of the counts of Champagne relative to Italy are still unpublished. Bourquelot's *Foires de Champagne* is sadly out of date. The whole history of the Fairs of Champagne needs to be written on larger lines than it has yet been.

⁵ Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, I, 38.

stopped at Pavia, the usual starting-place for travelers going over the St. Bernard Pass, and there fell in with some Venetian merchants. The extract is interesting and conclusive evidence of the presence of Venetian merchants who dealt in oriental stuffs at the Fair of Pavia in the ninth century.¹ Schulte is skeptical of the journeying of Venetian merchants so early as this beyond the Alps and thinks that French and German traders found their point of contact in the Lombard cities, especially Pavia and Ferrara, on the ground that "in general the number of hands through which wares passed had much increased since antiquity."² But it seems to me more probable that the Transalpine trade was plied by Italians than by Frankish merchants, and that Chappes was the place where the Italians changed wares with the Franks.³ Its location and the unusual importance attached to its merchants, who are *particularly* singled out in the edict, and are clearly distinguished from the Frank merchants taxed in the *exactio* of Compiègne, would seem to justify this view.

It must be borne in mind that at this time the Alpine passes were not yet infested by the Saracens, but were open and much used in political and military affairs, at least, as Schulte has shown.

¹ "Cum aliquando ab urbe Roma rediens, Papiam praeteriret, haud procul castrametatus est. Quod Venetii, vel alii quamplures illico cognoscentes, ad eum protinus exierunt. Jam enim per omne illud iter satis nobilissimus erat, et religionis atque largitatis causa apud omnes famosus. Cum ergo negotiatores, ut eis mos est, inter papiliones cursitarent, et si quispiam vellet aliquid emere, disquisissent, honestiores quidam ad senioris tentorium pervenerunt, et ministros interrogabant, si forte domnus comes [sic enim omnes appellabant eum] vel pallia, vel pigmentorum species emi juberet. Tum vero ipse vocans eos ad se: Quod, inquit, placuit, Romae licitatus sum; sed plane velim dicatis utrum bene negotiatus sim. Tunc jubet emptia pallia coram afferri. Erat autem unum ex his pretiosissimum. Quod Venetius intuens, quaerit quidnam pro eo datum sit. Cumque summam pretii cognovisset: Vere, inquit, si Constantinopoli esset, etiam plus ibi valeret. Quo audito senior extimuit, quasi grande facinus exhorrescens. Cum vero dehinc quosdam Romeos sibi notos obviam repreisset, tot solidos eis commendavit, quot Venetius ultra datum pretium dixerat pallium valere, dans indicium ubi venditorem pallii reperissent."—Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. CXXXIII, col. 658.

² Schulte, p. 76.

³ Soetbeer, *FDG*, Bd. VI, p. 10, keenly suggests that the *inibi manentes* in *Edictum Pistense* (864), Art. 8, refers to foreign merchants in France—"sich dort aufhaltenden fremden Kaufleute." Keutgen, *Aemter und Zünfte*, p. 122, note, disagrees.

The favorite route from Italy into France was via Pavia, Ivrea, Aosta, over the Great St. Bernard,¹ whence two ways diverged, (1) via St. Maurice and Valais to Lyons; (2) via the lake of Geneva, Orbe, Pontalier, and the old Roman road to Besançon and thence to Langres and Champagne.² Another route to Lyons was via St. Jean de Maurienne and Chambéry.

Now in the last years of the reign of Charles the Bald the nexus between France and Italy was very close. Boso, who was soon to found the kingdom of Burgundy in the valley of the Rhone, in 876 was the most powerful vassal of Charles, who had married his sister Richilde. In 870 the king gave him the abbey of St. Maurice-en-Valais and possession of the city of Vienne and the Lyonnais;³ in 871 he conferred upon him the government of the whole heritage of Lothar in the Rhone valley; in 876 Charles, having assumed the imperial title, intrusted the government of Italy to him;⁴ in 877 he received the reversion of the county of Bourges. Strategically Boso's position was incomparable, for he was in possession of the two chief routes between Italy and France—the route via Valais and that via St. Jean de Maurienne, and was lord on both sides of the Alps. In addition he held two important places in the valleys of the Rhone and the Loire, namely Lyons and Bourges. Within his immediate territory lay the confluence of the Allier with the Loire and that of the Saône with Rhone, the focal region of France from the point of view of communication between north and south or east and west. He was lord of Lyonnais and Berri; Bernard, the count of Auvergne, was his ally; he was grand chamberlain of Aquitaine and practically swayed the Midi from Burgundy to Septimania.⁴

¹ For the frequency with which the Great St. Bernard Pass was used in this century see Schulte, I, 56–58. In 849 Loup de Ferrières was sent to Rome. We do not know by what route he traveled, but his letter (Ep. 66) is interesting. He took with him as a present to the Pope some German linen (*glizza*) and wrote in advance to a bishop on the Italian frontier in the south of France to be ready to provide him with some “*Italicæ monetæ argentum*.”

² *Annals of St. Bertin*, 871.

³ “*Clarissimus dux et missus Italiae*.”—Bouquet, VII, 656, 659.

⁴ For an impressive description of Boso's power see Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–97.

This union of the two chief Alpine passes and the heart of the river system of France in one hand must have facilitated the commercial intercourse between Italy and France. It hardly could have been otherwise. Long before the Fairs of Champagne rose to their great importance, already in the ninth century the commerce of the region foreshadowed the coming destiny of the country. The importance of Chappes, on the upper Seine, has been seen. But Meaux also had a settled colony of merchants at this time, whose *habitacula* were destroyed by the Northmen in 862.¹ In truth the lineaments of the future Fairs of Champagne as early as the ninth century are outlined so clearly that there is as much of history as of legend in the celebrated romance of Garin de Loherain, which attributes the institution of the fairs to Charles the Bald.² Their antiquity is greater than Bourquelot and D'Arbois de Jubainville divined, for the earliest date of a fair in this region which they cite is 996³ and the first document "dont la date est certaine" is 1114, when the fairs of Bar-sur-Aube and Troyes are mentioned. Both of these scholars failed to discover Frodoard's explicit reference to a fair at Châlons-sur-Marne in 963.⁴

In the ninth century Chappes was the chief emporium in Champagne. Today it is a poor village in the department of the Aube, in the canton of Bar-sur-Seine, about two kilometers from Troyes.⁵ The discovery, not merely of the great historical importance of this place, but the actual discovery of the place itself is an interesting example of modern historical research. Until recently Chappes was known only as a chatellany of the counts of Champagne in the twelfth century, but it was a lost Pleiad among the fiefs of that

¹ "Habitacula circa hunc locum posita quae forensibus studiis patebant."—Mabillon, *Acta Sancti Ord. Sancti Bened. saec.*, II, 625. M. Lot translates *habitacula* by "étaux de marchands" (*Bib. de l'école des chartes*, LXIX, 57, note).

² See the quotation in Bourquelot, *Etudes sur les foires de Champagne*, p. 68.

³ Bourquelot, p. 70; D'Arbois de Jubainville, I, 181, 462–63.

⁴ *Annales de Frodoard*, ed. Lauer, p. 155; cf. Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, p. 45, note. It is singular that D'Arbois de Jubainville, I, 140, should have noticed the burning of Châlons in this year and missed Frodoard's allusion to *nundinae*.

⁵ M. Lot thinks it identical with the Port du Troisième where Pepin exempted the imports of the monks of St. Germain des Prés from tolls (*Bib. de l'école des chartes*, LXIX, 46, n. 1).

house, for its location was unknown.¹ By the twelfth century every reminiscence of its early commercial importance had vanished. But in 1896 the late Arthur Giry contributed a series of studies in Carolingian history to the *Études d'histoire du Moyen-Age dédiées à Gabriel Monod*, in which the third study (pp. 118-19) unraveled an obscure passage in Letter 125 of Loup de Ferrières. The text, as found in the manuscript, reads: "Praedones [Northmen] vastatis longe lateque celeberrimis locis, etiam sedem negotiatorum *cappas* se petiturum jactabant." The interpretation of the word *cappas* in this letter had baffled every student. Giry ingeniously capitalized the word, made a place-name of it and the meaning was clear. It is very strange to me, however, that Giry did not go one step farther and associate *Cappas* with the *cappi* of the capitulary of Kiersey. For beyond a doubt the word *cappi* in the edict of 877 refers to the merchants of Chappes. But what kind of merchants were they?² Certainly they were not Frank merchants, for they had already been taxed in the *exactio* of Compiègne, as has been shown. The *negotiatores Christiani* (Art. 31) and the Jews cannot be meant, for the *cappi* are distinguished from each of these.³

¹ D'Arbois de Jubainville, II, 195, 397, 425.

² The meaning of this word *cappi* has so far been a stumbling-block to all scholars. Baluze, II, 810, says: "Quosnam hic negotiatores cappos vocet incertum." Bouquet, in *Notis ad Innocentium*, III, p. 36, thinks that Jewish merchants are intended; yet the word *et* in Art. 31 of the capitulary certainly is adversative, distinguishing the *alii negotiatores, videlicet Judaei* from the *cappi*. Marca, *Histoire du Béarn.*, Book I, chap. 16, sec. 9, nearly approached the truth when he argued from the language that a class of merchants was meant who alone (*solii*) were vendors of a peculiar kind of merchandise. But Marca made no attempt to identify them. DuCange, s.v. "*capus*," associates the word with the Latin *capus*, a eunuch, and absurdly adds: "Judaei ita videntur appellati ob . . . circumcissionem," with which judgment the latest editors of the *Monumenta* concur (!) (*Capitula Regum Francorum*, ed. Boretius and Krause, *M.G.H. Leges*, II, 361). M. Ferdinand Lot, the last scholar who has touched the question, disconsolately says: "Le sens de ce mot est inconnu. On ne la retrouve pas ailleurs."—*Le Moyen Age*, 1905, IX, 15, note.

³ At first blush it may be thought that Arts. 30-31 of the capitulary of Kiersey are merely an amplification and sharper definition of the *exactio* of Compiègne, and that the same persons are meant in each. But this is not the case. For the *exactio* applied only to the fiefs, honors, and merchants in the territory between the Seine and the Meuse (Lot, "Une Année du règne de Charles le Chauve" [866], *Le Moyen Age*, 1902, p. 8, n. 2). But owing to the paucity of the returns from this imposition the Danegeld was extended to the fiefs of Boso and Bernard, i.e., from Burgundy to the far South

I feel sure that by the *cappi* are meant *Syrian merchants in France*. What is its derivation? I believe it to be a corruption, through the Syrian language, of the common word in Greek for merchant, i.e., *kapēlos* (κάπηλος), which is current from Herodotus, who uses it in Book i, chap. 94, of the Lydians, whom he makes to have been the earliest traders, down to Anna Comnena.¹ From the Greek the word passed into the Syriac *kapīla*, "merchant,"² whence through Syrian traders in the West it found its way into Frankish law.³

The history of the commercial activity of the Syrians in the West is an interesting one. From the time of the Roman Empire until Charlemagne they were the most important distributors of Levantine commodities in Europe. They formed populous communities

including Sénonais, Lyonnais, Viennois, Autunnois, Maconnais, Auvergne, le Toulousain, and Gothia. Chappes, the rendezvous of the Italian, Jewish, and Syrian merchants who traversed the Alpine passes and the network of rivers in this region of Central France, lay in this newly taxed territory. No effort was made to constrain Aquitaine (Art. 24: *De regno Aquitanico*). Indeed the tax seems to have failed of collection everywhere save in the king's immediate lands, owing to the opposition of Boso and the powerful baronage with him. See the admission of Hincmar ten years later in 887, *Annals of St. Bertin*: "Quomodo tributum de parte regni Franciae quam ante mortem Lotharii habuit, sed et de Burgundia exigeretur, disposuit." Cf. Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

¹ The word *kapēlos*, "merchant," is found in Suidas' *Lexicon*. "The word may well have been a Lydian term adopted in Greek," as Sir William Ramsey has said (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II, 416). It is kindred to the Latin *caupo*, Gothic *kaufōn*, Old High German *koufan*, German *kaufen*, Anglo-Saxon *ceapian*, *cheap*, *chapman*.

In Greek it was the common word for huckster or peddler, and by association came to mean a cheat or charlatan; see Lucian, *Hermot.*, 59. St. Paul uses the verb from it in II Cor. 2:17 with the sense of "trafficking in the word of God" (Thayer's *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*). In modern Greek *kapēlos* means a tavern-keeper, whence the verb-forms: "to keep a public house; to adulterate; to be a quack."

² See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, II, col. 3691 (Oxford 1901).

³ In Polish the word for merchant is *Kupiec*, pronounced *kupiets*; in Russian *kupiets* means merchant. The root is the same in all Slavonic languages: *kup* and *kupi* and *kupo*. Philologically, perhaps, the word in Russian and Polish may be independent of Greek influence. But considering the intimate commercial relations between the Russian and Polish lands and Constantinople during the Middle Ages, it seems to me that *historically* the Russian-Polish word for "merchant" may have come from the commercial contact of those peoples with Byzantium.

in Rome, Ravenna, Naples, Marseilles Lyons, Narbonne, Bordeaux, Orleans, Tours, Paris, Trèves, in the port towns of Spain, and even in Britain. They imported wines from Gaza and Ascalon, pistachio nuts and silk from Damascus, glass from Sidon, papyrus from Egypt, and from the Far East pepper, spices, frankincense, myrrh, and other perfumes prized by the rich or largely used in the offices of the church. "For more than eight hundred years," says M. Brehier, "the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Armenians, the Persians, the Asiatics, the Greeks were all confused under the term 'Syrian.'"¹

In the eighth century, judging from the sources, the Syrians began to dwindle, and in the ninth century there is no direct mention of them, save of the solitary Syrian scholar who aided Louis the Pious in reading the New Testament.² The rupture between Rome and Constantinople over the issue of iconoclasm, and the friction of Charlemagne with the Eastern Roman Empire may possibly have influenced the trade of the Syrians adversely. Yet the volume of oriental trade in Charlemagne's reign was very great,³ and his relations, at least with Bagdad, were intimate. It is difficult to believe that the Syrians, who had been for centuries the chief bearers of this commerce in the West, were completely shut out at this time. The argument that Syrian merchants no longer frequented the West after the eighth century is the *argumentum ex silentio* only. Certainly, although the volume of the oriental trade of the Frankland was reduced, it did not wholly disappear after Charlemagne. Heyd admits the improbability of France having been utterly cut off from products of the East in the ninth and tenth centuries, but the only proof he cites—not of the procedure of the commerce but of the fact—is a memorandum of spices pertaining to the monastery of Corbie.⁴ But the date of this inventory may be anywhere between 822 and 986.

¹ Brehier, "Les Colonies d'orientaux en Occident au commencement du Moyen-Age," *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, 1903, XII, 1-39; cf. also P. Scheffer-Boichorst, "Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande," *Mitteil. des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 1885, IV, 520-50.

² Thegan, *Vita Ludovici*, chap. 7.

³ Heyd, I, 88-92; Dopsch, *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, I, 199-201.

⁴ Heyd, I, 93 and n. 2 (from Guérard, *Polyptique d'Irminon*, II, 336).

Fortunately we have contemporary evidence of the circulation of Levantine goods in France. Abbo's famous epic of the siege of Paris by the Northmen in 885-86 heaps scorn upon those whose manners were softened by eastern luxuries, rich attire, Tyrian purple, gems, and Antioch leather.¹ To this we may add the familiar testimony of the Monk of St. Gall² who, though nominally writing of Charlemagne's time, actually more reflects the civilization of his own.

The probable presence of Syrian merchants in France in the late ninth century having now been shown, the question arises: By what routes did they come? Did they still come by sea, as formerly, through Marseilles and Fossae Marianae in the delta of the Rhone, where Corbie in 716 was given the power to collect duties on aromatics and spices?³ No famous city of Gaul has an obscurer history than Marseilles from the time of Charlemagne to the Crusades. The Saracen corsairs plundered it in 848, from which time a veil hangs over it for centuries. Yet in spite of the fact that these pirates haunted the seas and harried the coasts of Italy and Provence for years, we have evidence that Christian shipping braved the perils successfully. For in 844 Charles the Bald in a charter of immunity to St. Denis exempts from all exactions boats engaged in trade belonging to the monks or to their commercial agents" *qui pro eorum utilitate ad Massilliam . . . seu per diversos portus . . . mercatus negotiandi gratia advenissent.*"⁴ Again, in 878 Pope John VIII came to Arles *by sea* and traveled thence to Lyons and Troyes.⁵ Most interesting of all allusions, however, to the commerce of the Rhone delta in these years is a charter of King Louis of Provence in 920, to Manassah, archbishop of Arles, in which there is a direct reference to Greek merchants and an implied one to Syrian and Jewish.⁶

The expulsion of the Syrian merchants from the West, I have no doubt, was primarily due to the increasing competition of the

¹ *Abbonis de Bello Parisiaco*, Book II, vss. 596 ff.

² *M.G.H.SS.*, II, 752.

⁴ Bouquet, VIII, 455.

³ Heyd, I, 89.

⁵ *Histoire du Languedoc*, III, 6, 8.

⁶ "Portum etiam Arelatensem, tot ex Graecis quam ex aliis advenientibus hominibus" (Syrians and Jews?).—Bouquet, IX, 686.

Venetians, who gradually pushed them out of the field, although, at least through the ninth century, they kept their footing at Chappes. For, if the contention of this paper is tenable that the Venetians as early as this were engaged in Transalpine trade, most of their goods must have been of Levantine origin. The merchants of Venice enjoyed unusual advantages under Charlemagne, Lothar, and Louis II as we have seen, and in the last half of the ninth century the relations between Italy at large and Constantinople were exceptionally close. On account of the ravages of the Saracens in Southern Italy both Pope John VIII and Emperor Louis II had made alliances with Emperor Basil I.¹ Then came the Crusades which subverted all former commercial conditions and revolutionized the history of commerce in the Middle Ages.

To conclude: From the evidence which has been set forth it is manifest, not only that the Norse invasions were not so destructive of commerce as has been represented, but also that the volume and variety of that commerce in the ninth century was greater than has been thought. Although the trade relations between Western Europe and the Levant had declined with the decay of the Roman Empire, nevertheless Syrian merchants maintained their commercial traditions in Gaul much longer than has hitherto been supposed. Even in the hardest age, perhaps, of the Middle Ages, France did not utterly revert to a purely agricultural organization of society. The opinion of those economic historians who contend that the so-called "self-sufficiency" of the manorial régime is an illusion receives added weight even from the painfully meager sources of the ninth century.

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¹ Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 83, 114, 119, 129.